1: Burrows--118-119 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 396, 461, 602, 476 Ifalik

"In the making of Tom's canoe, the obligations that brought men to the work were of three kinds: (1) kinship; (2) neighborliness; (3) friendship. On the big days, when many hands were needed, all the neighbors rallied round. Most of the workmen seemed to be from Falārĭk, where Tom lived and where the work was going on; but there were some from Fauau, and Tom said proudly that some men, not relatives of his, came all the way from Falālap just out of friendship.

Sociability might be added as an additional motive with all hands. On those particular days, that job and the assemblage it brought together probably afforded the best entertainment to be found on the island. And on some of these days there was still another inducement, sometimes held out in our culture in the one word 'refreshments' on notices or invitations. Women of Tom's two households cooked and brought food for the workers.

For the long pull--the many days when only a few workers stayed on the job--the obligation that brought most of them was kinship. The steadiest workers were: (1) Magaleisei, Tom's brother, to whom he had delegated supervision of the work while he was on duty with the visiting anthropologists; (2) the chief Toromann, whose wife is Tom's sister (my records do not make clear whether she is [119] what we would call a sister, or whether Tom used the word in an extended sense, in which case she is what we would call a cousin); (3) Aueligar, Toromann's son, whom Tom would call vatuwei (my sister's son); (4) Siuman, another sister's son; (5) Auilimar, husband of one of

Tom's sisters; (6) Tom's two grown sons, one his own, the other adopted. The elder, his own son, was rather sulky and uncooperative toward him. (Analysis of this strained father-son relationship falls in Spiro's field.)

Three of these man [sic]--Magaleisei, Toromann, Auilimar--were considered master-shipwrights. Aueligar, an intelligent and energetic young man, is probably on hiw way to that distinction. In that case, beside meeting his obligation toward his mother's brother, the job would count toward finishing his apprenticeship.

The motivation in this case was not always strong enough to keep a crew of men on the job; perhaps because of the unusual circumstance that Tom himself was absent so much of the time, working for us, and hence could not inspire the other workers with his own enthusiasm. On October 2, he asked the chiefs to issue an order for more men to work on his canoe. The word spread rapidly, and within about an hour a number of men appeared, and got on with the job of fitting and fastening the planks of the hull. But on October 5 there was a public task--replacing the corner post in a canoe house--that took all available manpower. On the day after that, only Toromann and two other elderly men were at work on the canoe.

October 15 Tom announced angrily to the chiefs that he was not going to work for us on the following day. He was going to work on his canoe. Nobody had been at work on it for several days, he said; and if he spent all his time working for us, it never would be finished. This episode will be considered in detail in the chapter on government.

Here it is enough to say that thereafter work on the canoe went more steadily."

1: Burrows--119-120 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 396, 476, 602 Ifalik

"Some test of how typical the building of Tom's canoe may be is afforded by a lesser job of the same kind that was carried out in January, 1948--the re-lashing of a canoe belonging to Gabwileisei of Rauau district. Gabwileisei, not a sennap himself, called on GauaisIg of Falālap to supervise the job. The two are kinsmen, Tom said. I do not know what the relationship is, beyond the fact that they are not of the same clan, Gabwileisei's clan being Sauwēl, GauaisIg's Kovalū.

On the first day a considerable number of men assembled. GauauisIg brought some with him from Falālap. Most of the men of the neighborhood also appeared. Their obligation, Tom explained, was that whenever that canoe brought in a good catch of fish, they would receive a share of it. Altogether, on that day, there were more men than there was room for about the canoe, so they spelled each other. Husked young drinking nuts were distributed.

Though the job took only about a week, the attendance quickly fell off. Again the faithful few were kinsmen: (1) Arigomar, a sister's son of Gabwileisei; (2) Saralimwan, another sister's son; (3) Magaleisei, whose wife is the daughter of a sister, so that he lives on Gabwileisei's ancestral homestead; and (4) Metagesou, another affinal relative --his wife is related to Gabwileisei, [120] Tom was not sure just how. Old GauaisIg, having got the job organized and under way, did not bother to attend every day.

The pattern seems to be about the same as Tom's canoe. Again neighborliness exerted a perceptible pull, but only kinship kept on pulling men to the job for its whole

duration. Among kinsfolk, sister's son ('true' or classificatory) were again prominent, showing that the avunculate gives a man a stronger claim on the services of his sisters' sons than on other relatives."

28: Spiro--27 [2]
116, 596, 602, 835

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The existence of the airo indicates that Ifaluk kinship system is not entirely unilateral, or conversely, from a unilateral to a bilateral system. This, of course, is conjecture, and without historical evidence, cannot be documented. We can conclude, however, that the Ifaluk system is intermediate between the two extremes. This is demonstrated much more convincingly by marriage regulations. As pointed out above, clan exogamy is strict and universal, but clan endogamy does not exhaust the category of tabooed spouses. For aside from the parent-child taboo (which, of course, in the case of father--daughter is not a function of clan exogamy), a person may not marry a member of his airo. Though the natives do not express this taboo in these terms, as they do in the case of the clans, they do point out that a man may not marry either his father's sisters' children, or his father's brothers' children, neither of whom are clan members, but an airo. This inclusion of the airo members within the cultural definition of incest finds expression in other forms of sexual avoidance taboos. Though sexual references in conversation are taboo in mixed company, they are permitted in the presence of children. Tom, for example, would often joke sexually with the young girls, but never with a child in his airo, since they are 'all same my boy.' After administering a Rorschach to the daughter of his brother, I told him to tell her that she had a 'very fine stomach and a very fine head', and that when she had children they would too. He smiled, praised her 'stomach' and

'head', but did not repeat the prediction about her children. When I asked him, he explained that since she was his brother's, she was like his own children with whom he could not discuss sexual matters."

28: Spiro--38 [2]
116, 396, 476, 602

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In analysing the kin relationship of those assisting in canoe construction, we again observe the functioning of patrilineal and affinal relatives, as well as matrilineal relatives. For example in the construction of Tom's ocean-going canoe, the men most in evidence were his brother, his sister's son and a classificatory sister's son, as well as his sister's husband, his classificatory sister's husband, and his wife's brother, besides a number of men of both Rauau and Felarik who were not related in any form. In the construction of a small canoe that I observed, those who assisted the owner were his mother's classificatory sister's son, his mother's brother, his foster brother, and his dead mother's classificatory sister's husband--the latter doing the brunt of the work. In another instance, the man was assisted by his father, the foster father of his daughter, and his sister's husband. I list these in detail to indicate the importance of kin other than the lineage or the clan in economic activity."

"In the construction or repair of an ocean-going canoe, a number of other men participate [WPM: other than kin], particularly the men of the man's district. When the hull on Tom's canoe was to be fitted I counted 36 men participating in the job. The owner of the canoe provides food for all the participants when the task is completed, and in the case of the main workers, presents them with gifts of rope and lavalavas.

Now, aside from kin, whose cooperation is culturally ordained, the cooperation of the other participants is entirely voluntary (4), so that the degree of cooperation is a function of the esteem and respect that the initiator holds in the society. The well-liked man will receive much assistance, whereas he who is less well liked will suffer accordingly. We have already alluded to the lack of cooperation Tom received in the construction of his canoe, and his need to appeal to the chiefs to get fuller cooperation. This may be contrasted with the cooperation that Gaveleisei received when his ocean-going canoe required a complete over-hauling. He let it be known that he would need assistance, and the next day the entire man-power of his district had turned out, as well as many men from Felarik and Falalap. This display of cooperation was unquestionably a function of

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"4. There are exceptions to this, however. When he arrived on the island, and Tom was appointed as our interpreter, the chiefs ordered the men of Felarik to assist in the construction of Tom's canoe, since he would have little time to devote to it."

Gaveleisie's personality. He is a person highly respected by his fellows, and justly so; he is a magnificent human being, intelligent, talented, and sensitive. When I informed Tom of the great number of men who had come to assist Gaveleisei, he explained that the task was easy, and that any person knew how to perform it. Tom was correct in saying that it was a relatively easy task, but there is little question that it was Gaveleisie's personality that accounted for the large turn-out, and that Tom was trying to rationalize the discrepancy in numbers between those who assisted him, and those who assisted Gaveleisei. The simple fact is that Gaveleisei is liked and respected more than Tom."

"It is during the period of gestation that the foetus acquires its soul.(ngas) It is the ngas that differentiates the dead from the living, so that before the entrance of the ngas, the infant is not yet alive, and when it departs the person dies. The ngas, whose size is unknown, resides in the 'stomach', and is conceived of as a vaporous substance. ('all same wind'). But its actual formation and derivation is a matter of speculation. Arogeligar maintained that Aluelap gives the baby its ngas in the eighth month of pregnancy. Others said that the soul enters the embryo through the umbilical cord. (1) The chiefs, on the other hand, maintained that the soul evolves in the baby in the course of its development, like any other organ, though the nature and time if its growth is unknown.

But the foetus not only receives its ngas during the period of gestation, it also receives its blood. Both blood (tra) and food, which the foetus requires to keep alive, are received by means of the umbilicus. Blood is necessary for life. If a person has much blood, he will be strong; if he has little, he will be weak; and if he has none, he will die.

But though the foetus receives its blood from its mother, all questions concerning

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"1. Thus deriving from the mother, which would explain matrilineal descent."

[83] 'blood relationship' elicited negative replies. All blood is the same, there being no differences between individuals or people, and the concept of relationship through blood is completely foreign to them. (2)"

"2. Again it is possible that matrilineal descent is related to the fact of the infant's receiving of his blood from his mother. But questions of this kind, as well as other similar questions sent my informants into peels of laughter. How should they, or any one else know the answers to these questions, and who but an idiot would bother about them. Auelimar, one of my best informants expressed the concensus of the group when he exclaimed, 'who can savvy that?'"

28: Spiro--99 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 602 Ifalik

"These [WPM: Mother--child, Father-child, Grandmother--grandchild, Mother's sister--child] are the most important relationships between the generations."